MOKO

No 11

A Serious Review

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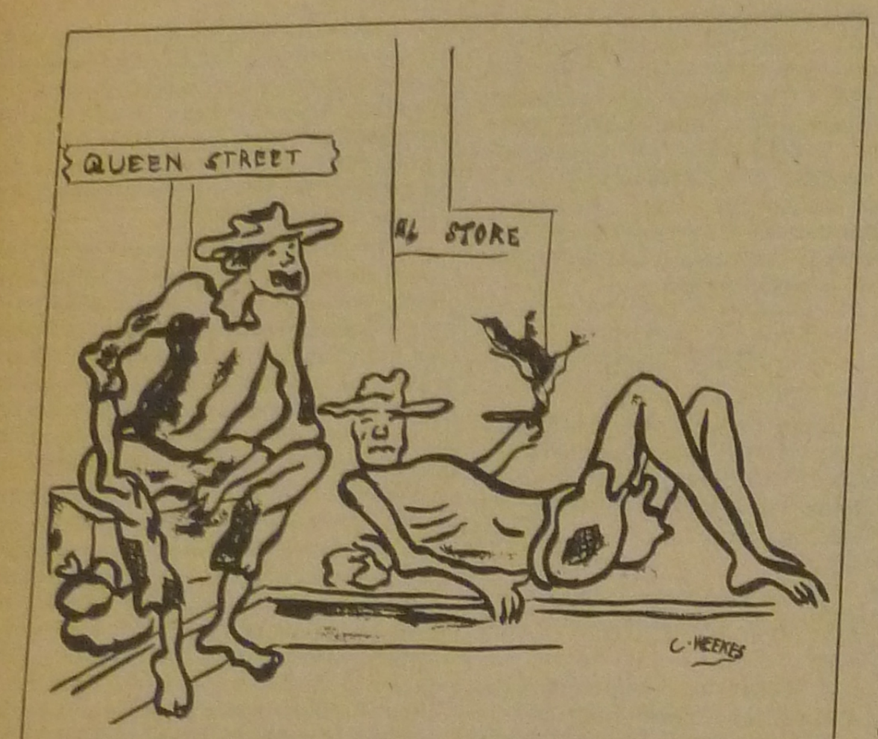
THE ANGUILLAN CRISIS



Webster eh do half ah wah Smith do ... But Webster is ah black man

A Great Betrayal

A fundamental cause of Anguillan secession and declaration of independence from the associated state of St.Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla is that of local government. Ever since Anguilla became a British colony she has been neglected. Throughout the 20th century Anguillan protests against neglect have been heard, but not heeded. The recalcitrance of the central Government, led by the antiquated Robert Bradshaw seated in St. Kitts. has consistently refused to initiate developmental programmes in Anguilla. In fact, British funds earmarked for that purpose have been appropriated and put to other use by the Bradshaw regime. In addition, Anguilla expressed grave dissatisfaction with the constitutional arrangements of 1967, and though her demands were reasonable neither Britain nor the Bradshaw regime was willing to give those demands the consideration which they merited Indeed, the 'Rulers' operated in a spirit of repression rather than in one of conciliation.

The Anguillan crisis is significant for the entire Commonwealth Caribbean precisely because it is a crisis of local government. The voters of Anguilla have consistently rejected the Bradshaw sponsored candidate (St. Kitts Labour Party) and instead have returned one of their own to the Legislative Assembly of St.Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. As a result the Government has always been applying pressure on the Anguillans, denying them their due services. When we view this in the context of the very alarming diminution of the powers of local government authority throughout the Commonwealth Caribbean and the fact that vibrant local government is the bastion of democracy, we see the seriousness of the problem and we recognize the growth of a dictatorial centralism, an inevitable consequence of an authoritarian political culture. Bradshaw's attitude to the spirited Anguillans is strikingly similar to Williams's proclamation in the 1968 Local Government Elections, PNM OR BLACK-OUT'

But while we criticise the politicians we must also seek to offer some explanation of their actions. The basic explanation lies in our authoritarian political culture and the imposition of the British Parliamentary system on such a culture. We have adopted all the centralising, dictator-like institutions of Britain without the decentralising forms of public participation as obtain in Britain. The imposition of the Westminster model of Parliamentary democracy, therefore, has led to an excessive and greatly undesirable centralised political system in the West Indies.

The Anguillan crisis, like most other crises in the WI, is a consequence of an endemic weakness in the social, political and economic structure of the West Indies. We must accept the challenge of restructuring the entire fabric of West Indian society-the creation of a new psychology and the consequent, development of new economic institutions and strategies as well as new relevant political forms.

—AUGUSTUS RAMREKERSINGH

For the first time in the entire history of the English - speaking peoples of the caribbean the long road from slavery to independence has been built stage by stage by the people themselves, all the people. Never before has the population of any territory in the British Caribbean been directly involved at all stages in the process of decolonilization. 6000 people in the tiny 35 square mile island of Anguilla has achieved this. This new approach to independence is unique not only in the British Caribbean, but in the modern world. It poses questions that we must discuss in the coming months.

IMPORTANT

But let us simply, for a start, list the stages of this New approach and see what lessons we can draw from it.

June 18, 1825 (dispatch from Governor Maxwell to Earl Bathurst) :- An act had recently been passed reducing the power of the Anguillan local council and transferring certain governmental powers to St. Kitts. The inhabitants protested: "can we indulge a hope that laws enacted particularly for this community, can or will be made with much regard to its interest, when they are to be passed by a body of men living in a distinct and remote Island, possessing no property of any kind here and having no connexing or relation whatever? "

August 23, 1873:- More than 100 Anguillians petitioned the colonial Office in favour of crown colony government and against being ruled by St. Kitts. Petitioners claimed that Anguillan trade had been curtailed and that duties had become exorbitant under the St. Kitts regime; "the interests of Anguilla, its resources, and capabilities of development are not understood - - - by the legislative body of St. Christopher who are utter strangers to us, ignorant of the community, careless of their wants, and therefore unequal to discharge - - - the important duties of legislation for us - - - . this legislative dependence on St. Kitts can in no sense be called a legislative union, has operated, and continues to operate most injuriously against us, and is mutually disliked. "

FAILED

In 1873 the Leeward Islands had federated for the second time in their history. Anguilla was not even mentioned in the Leeward Islands Federation Act, and had no representative in the Federal Legislature.

1958:-(Address by an Anguillian representative, Mr Wallace Rey, at the New World Teach - in, Jamaica Aug. 31, 1967)

"In 1958 Mr Kenneth Hazel was on the Legislative Council of St. Kitts /Nevis / Anguilla, and because of the treatment meted out to Anguilla the Anguillans got together and asked Mr Hazel to make a move to Britain for the secession of Anguilla from St. Kitts, (It) was, in fact, the Nevis delegation that

Who are the Gangsters ?

started it. They went to England and failed. Seeing that Nevis failed--the Anguillians did not make a move - - - "

1967: Associate statehood constitution called for the setting up of a local government in Anguilla before statehood. The central government stated that time was too short to hold elections so a council would be nominated for Anguilla. Anguillians rejected this proposal. The central government imposed a solution by appointing an Advisory Board for Anguilla "which would be advised by the Premier".

May, 1967: Anguillians vote 1,813 to 5 to secede from the state of St Kitts /Nevis/ Anguilla. Seven - man police force sent back to St Kitts.

July, 1967: (Agreement reached at commonwealth Caribbean Governmental Conference on Anguilla, Barbados " (1) St. Kitts police and civil authorities should be re-established on Anguilla without delay. The police should be transported to Anguilla by a U.K. Naval ship and should be supported by a military or naval force in case it might be necessary to subdue any armed resistance.

RESISTANCE

(2) As soon as the St Kitts police are established on the Island and armed resistance (if any) has been subdued, a peace keeping team (of between 30 and 60 police officers, provided equally by each of the four Caribbean Common wealth Governments) should follow up - - - - The U.K. naval and military force will not finally leave the area until it is judged that a military force is no longer needed to deal with the situation. (3) If so requested by the U.K. Government, the four commonwealth Caribbean Governments will issue a public statement at the commencement of the operation supporting the action of the U.K. Government and the St.s Kitts Government."

The above Agreement was effectively nullified when the Jamaica Government due to a strong public outcry in Jamaica against the agreement, announced at a later Intergovernmental Conference that it would not contribute to the peacekeeping force.

(The information given above was taken from the Anguilla Issue of New World Quarterly Vol iv No.1, 1967).

Feb 6, 1969: While Caribbean leaders were drafting a resolution calling on Britain " to gurantee the territorial integrety of the St. Kitts - Nevis - Anguilla federation " Anguillians went to the polls and voted 1.739 to 4 in favour of Independence.

Feb. 25, 1969: Mr Whitlock arrives in St. Kitts

March 3, 1969: Reported that Anguillains will go to the polls on March 11 and 25 to elect their first legislature and on April 3 to elect their president and vice-president under their Independence Constiution.

March 11, 1969: Mr Whitlock arrives in Anguilla with "peace formula ". Reported that he was expelled from the island on the same day by armed men.

March 13, 1969: Whitlock says in London that armed gangsters and Mafia - type organisations existed on the island and that they were holding the Anguillan people in complete subjection.

PUBLICIZED

The events from March 13 to the present have been widely publicized in the local and regional papers. The British Government sent an invasion force of their elite "Red Devil" paratroopers, police and Scotland yard men with British frigates to Anguilla via Antigua. Mr. Anthony Lee was installed as British Commissioner in the island. The British Government true to their traditional role as "Colonial gangsters" and tricksters used the pretext that mafia-types elements and armed gangsters are in control of Anguilla in order to justify the invasion. Up to press time not one gangster has been found in Anguilla. Mr. Lee has been reported as saying that he has found no gangsters. The Anguillians having at first given no resistance to the invaders are now showing in no uncertain terms that they want the British out of Anguilla and that they intend to determine their future as they have been doing for the last two years.

The fundamental question that

Continued on Page Four

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MR. GARNET WILLIAMS IS IN CHARGE OF THE OFFICE.

Friday, 28th March, 1969

THE FRENCH WEST INDIES TODAY

Another French referendum is on the horizon. But there is a French proverb that says: 'Plus ça change plus c'est la meme chose' — the more things change the more they remain the same. This the French West Indians have learned well in the last twenty three years.

In 1946 the then French West Indian colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guyana, together with the island of Reunion in the Indian Ocean, sought for and were granted the status of Overseas Departments of the French Republic.

It was the glorious end of colonization, an end true to the French genius of 'assimilation' of the children into the paternal protection. It was to be the beginning of social progress and economic development, the key to French funds for developing these Departments.

Fourteen years later in 1959-69 'political agitators' were shouting a new slogan calling for an end to colonialism. This shocked some ears in Paris- had not colonialism effectively ended with 'departmentalisation' in 1946? The Central Government, in the face of the violent opposition in Martinique and Guadeloupe, reacted violently. Arrests, trials, prison terms became the order of the day. Eventually calm was restored to these territories.

BY
GEORGE HUGGINS

OLD GROUSES

The General Councils located in the territories themselves did not however let pass the opportunity of bringing up old grouses. They had long been complaining that the General Council on elected body, be allowed to play more than a purely administrative role And consequently in a flagrantly political outburst the General Council of Martinique attacked the Prefect, the French equivalent of the English Governor for his excessively brutal and violent repression of the riots of December 1959.

Thereafter the Paris Government thought it wise to make some concessions. A decree of 26th April 1960 increased the powers of the Council so that it had to be consulted on all projects of laws and decrees relating to these departments. But decrees of the very same date also extended the powers of the Prefect.

In a sense then everything remained the same. Plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose.

By 1967-68 voices began to be heard once more calling for an end to that old spectre - colonialism. In the metropolis this is viewed as simple nonsense. In the French view colonialism ended in 1946 and the ills in the French West Indies are seen to be economic not political. So that the Secretary of State for Overseas Departments, returning to Paris after a recent official visit to Martinique and Guadeloupe in January 1969, said with perfect conviction that there is no political problem in the French West Indies.

PROBLEMS

It may be time that the problems of the French West Indies are in fact economic. Yet it must be realized that if this is the basis of the discontent, as both the French West Indians and the Paris Government agree, the problem has long been given a political expression and has become one of constitutional status.

Martinique and Guadeloupe have according to the statistics a per capita income of 400 and 500 dollars U.S, respectively. This may seem fairly high by West Indian standards, yet a closer analysis of the economy reveals, a less flattering picture. For all practical purposes Martinique and Guadeloupe may be treated together. They are very much alike in size (Martinique 515 sq. miles, Guadeloupe 684 sq miles), and in population (Martinique 322,000, Guadeloupe 314,000 estimated in 1967).

The economy of these two territories is based on three agricultural products sugar, rum and bananas, and exports in these products represent over 90% of total exports. However recently sugar production has been steadily dropping. Factories and distilleries are closing down. In Martinique 7 out of 11 sugar factories have closed down in recent years. The banana industry is very fragile both because of the markets and because of the susceptibility of the producing areas to hurricanes.

The effect of this economic instability is a reduction in export earnings, aggravated by an increasing import bill. Exports now cover only about 40% of imports. The rest is covered by budgetary and other grants from the Central Government. It means that these territories have great difficulties in generating local capital for investment, or in directing capital funds from abroad towards badly needed infrastructural development or towards industrial development.

The number of the unemployed swells day by day. The population of these islands is essentially young, over 50% are under 35 years. Migration to metropolitan France, once a solution, is becoming more and more unpopular.

BUSINESS PATTERNS

The problem is made even more serious by the commercial patterns that have developed in these territories since departmentalisation. Martiniquans and Guadeloupeans feel themselves 'clients' for France. Over 90% of imported goods come from metropolitan France. Often these goods are imported and sold by monopolies or semi-monopolies. The result is that prices in the French West Indies are among the highest in the entire Caribbean region.

Under the advertising pressure of big business concerns, and lured by the facilities offered by credit firms French West Indian society has become a consumer society, and more so a society consuming large amounts of luxury products. For example, Martinique counted 35,953 cars in 1 Jan 1968 or almost 1 car for every 8 inhabitants.

The problem in Martinique is also social. A handful of "beke" (white creole) Martiniquan families own and control most the of agricultural sector of the island. Also, the newly opening industrial and tourist sectors are in the hands of the metropolitan French.

In Guadeloupe the majority of the investment is in the hands of Martiniquan families. This has brought the charge of new colonial expansion by Martinique, and this is itself a source of disaffection between Martiniquans among Guadeloupeans.

One result of the concentration of the economic power in the hands of whites is the existence of a latent racialism in French West Indian society. This is nurtured in many ways, by living habits, by the character and the siting of the residential areas and by language. 'Creole' or patois is often scorned as being "low class" by the upper white bourgeoisie. Marital patterns reinforce the clearage. It is rate that an intermarriage takes place between "beke" and non-beke"

The effect of the influences of these forces is that there has grown the conviction that the status of Overseas Departments of France is an obstacle to true socio-economic development, and there has been since 1959 a strong move in these territories for a change of status.

At the moment two other alternatives seem to be open to these territories: either full independence in some kind of association with France or complete separation as in the case of Guinea in 1958; or full internal self-government including the responsibility for external relations, but still in soem sort of relationship with France.

In practice in the last 10 years the majority of the political parties and political agitators have opted for the second alternative.

AUTONOMY

The movement towards independence has been fostered by small groups. Their influence has not yet been fully felt, as there is general fear as to the outcome of the economy if left on its own in independence.

The autonomists however encompass a wide range of the political parties and youth groups. The autonomist idea calls for a locally elected deliberative and executive assembly, and for the restructuring of the economy to adapt it to the needs of the country.

The major autonomist groups are:

1. The communists, who have traditionally been strongest on these issues and who have generally held a fair amount of political power especially in Guadeloupe.

However the Communists have been accused of reactionary thinking on this issue and this has brought about a split in the Communist party in Guadeloupe. The breakaway group now takes the name of VERITE after the name of its weekly newspaper.

2. Youth groups and students based mostly in France. Two of these, The Young Anticolonialist Organization of Martinique (OJAM) and the Grouping of Nationalist Organization of Guadeloupe (GONG) are extreme left wing clandestine movements. They have been disbanded, but some claim that they still function in secrecy.

REACTIONS

From time to time intellectual come together into groups under a label of autonomy. However these groups are generally shortlived and their influence thus far is little felt.

There has been three types of reactions to the movement for autonomy.

From the Government the attitude has varied from one of subtle legal controls (such as a decree to send "troublemakers" into exile in France), to open repression.

Then there are those who form the present system and who go under the name of departmentalists. The majority of these are in the moneyed bourgeoisie, the business sector and the civil service. They feel on the one hand a very great bond of attachment to the mother country - "la patrie" - with its culture and its civilisation and on the other hand they fear to lose under autonomy what they have accumulated under the existing arrangements.

So far the masses do not participate actively in the movement for autonomy. It still remains an intellectual issue. The masses are as much traditionally attached to

Cont'd on Page Three

WORKERS SAY NO

A Drama is being played out in South Trinidad which is of fundamental importance to the society. Yet, all the daily press has said about it so far is that an industrial dispute exists between the OWTU at Texaco because of alledged racial discrimination. Men have refused to work normally until the white member of staff against whom the allegation is made is removed from the scene. This is the situation that press -reports so far have referred to as a dispute.

Every now and then when some local dignitaries have been wined and dined, or have suffered a rush of blood to the head, they make speeches indicating that Trinidad has some great lesson to teach the world, that being how races could live together in harmony. They do this in spite of the blatant colour discrimination practiced in the field of employment. The callous watering down of salary, fringe benefits, authority and status which takes place when a black man fills an office previously held by what this society calls, the white man.

Yet too we have an anthem which says in part "every creed and race find an equal place" I am asking how true is this, when black men suffer the indignities of second class treatment in almost every sphere of activity in the society? There are even some woolly headed self styled intellectuals who would have us believe by way of long meaningless analysis in the press that Black Power assertion of the dignity of Black Men has no place in the West Indies.

Happily we have ordinary people with a growing awareness and sense enough to begin saying no to the second class status which the society ascribes to their kind. If we are going to build a Nation of any worth all must realise the dignity of man and equality of treatment they expect. Firms operating in this country must be told what is expected of them in this respect and the Government must act to protect the sentiments expressed in our constitution and anthem.

It is clear from their actions that the workers are fighting for Black Power, Worker Power. They will either win this struggle or the "nation" will sink further down the gutter of social and economic chaos.

MOKOJUMBIE

Monkey See, Monkey D

It can perhaps be argued that since the ...kee fiasco at the Bay of Pigs the Br... as the most experienced imperialists, have be...earning to show their North Atl... 'kith and kin' exactly how such affairs are man...d. Now they have ended up in the ... ridiculous posture imaginable. The aptest car...ure is that of a hoodlum about to ... off his victim. Looking up, sees a policeman e...g him, whereupon he begins to pre... that he was about to lift the man off the grou...not murder him. So it is today wit... British. In the glare of unfavourable world p...city the British, having bulldogged ... way in are now trying to pussyfoot their way ...k out. After 300 years they have ... denly discovered that Anguilla lacks the bas...menities and are now said to be ... stituting soldiers for engineers in a bid to p...de water, lights, roads and other ... requirements.

Gullible as some of us are, and titillated ...e all might be by this hilarious ep... it is for us the people of the West Indies to br... this bribery aside with the same l... ceremony that the Anguillans have so far disp...ed in dealing with the British. The ... direct and relevant call that we can now mak...for the complete end to colonial ... the region. This is a big problem and it is not ...be solved, as we in Trinidad and T... know, simply by 'gaining independence'. ...hat is a start, and we must beg... establishing the formal independence of the ...re English-speaking Caribbean, p... even by simply declaring it.

The Anguillan crisis has done nothing if ...has not underlined the essential co... status of the smaller islands of the Caribbean ...t has shown up the conception ... hollow mockery that it is. Clearly, if these ...tes can all be treated in the wa... Anguilla has been they are neither 'associate...with Britain nor are they really ... By the terms of the constitution of associate...statehood the islands have complete... nal self-government. Britain had responsibility ...r external affairs and defence. B... invasion of Anguilla shows that as long as B...in has the right, as she has unc... constitution, to interpret what defence and ex...al affairs mean and where the bo... is to be drawn between internal and externa...atters, the associated states can ... said to enjoy the smallest tittle of independenc...

This is what Anguilla is about. It is abo...real as against fraudulent indepe... Its true implications are highly symbolic. If ...Anguillans can be independent ... anyone else in this region who cannot be? Not...y that the Anguillans are claimi... pendence without all the frills, props and ame...s which are supposed to go with ... that is the greatest development this region h...nown for years. The British kn... They are not looking for gangsters. Gangste...emselves, they would have foun... there were any to be found. What they are d...g in Anguilla is trying to halt the ... tion in West Indian consciousness which the ...guillans symbolized by kicking ... British Minister to hell out of Anguilla. That ...e British could not take, not be... the kick but because of the psychological matu...y displayed in the act.

Of course, too, there are economic imp...tions. The blow against Whitlo... blow against the whole British enterprise in t...Caribbean. That enterprise, in ... the samller islands are concerned, centers on ...AC's operations in the Caribbea... the increasing British stake in the tourist indu...y of the smaller territories. Th... together add up to a pretty sizeable econom...interest not only in actual siz... potential. And the existence of both of the...depends on the continued exis... associated statehood. We say away with it, and...e time is now.

ON THE TRAI... OF JESS...

The Jessel crisis has stimulated nation...interest far in excess of what ... regarded as warranted by the implications of ...Jessel's attempt to buy out Alst... Further, the precipitate nature of the Governm...'s decision and the ensuing Parli... action, taken without allowing any time for ...full consideration of the techni... involved, makes it clear that the justification...sented to the public were noth... of spurious.

It is true that retrenchment and unemp...ment were involved, as the Go... claimed, but this time it was unemployment ...d retrenchment at the top, a... upper echelons of the society, and this could ...e tolerated. It is true, too, tha... had long expressed its intention to intervene ...the matter of retrenchment ... industry. Presumably this strategy could be ...ended to take in the business se... presumably too, national pride was at stake. ...t the facts give considerable s... the suspicion that the Government was ...ited by anything but upright, ... considerations.

The facts such as have been disclosed on ...and previous occasions give co... support to the above trend of thought. In ...irst place Mr. Jessel's acquisiti... Sandbach interests was unopposed and unm...ned until his moment of indis... retrenching his local board. Secondly, we ...erstand that the Booker Gro... recent years been in the process of acquirin...substantial number of properti... country. Thirdly, only recently the take-o...f the Grell interests ran into ... solely because of exchange-control regulation...d no interest was displayed in ... national ownership of that enterprise. Fourt...the Scotland Bay lease fiasc... number of other projects indicate, if not lack ...oncern, at least a continuing in... by the Government about the alienation of c...ol over the national resources ... though Government is abundantly aware th...existing machinery for preven... alienation is hopelessly inadequate and has ...rined as a major objective in ... Five Year Plan the promotion of national c...ol of decision-making, implyi... national control of local assets, no steps have s...been taken to initiate public ... on how these goals may be achieved. Finally, ...more specifically with refere... Jessel Crisis, it would appear that the Govern...t action was taken in direct re... an urgent appeal by certain affected persons ...visited the Prime Minister im... prior to the emergency action.

One possible enduring and desirable effe...of the advent of Mr. Jessel on ... dad and Tobago scene is the dispelling of th...mplacency of the business co... about the role of foreign investment in the d...lopment of the economy. L... fortnight before the "Jessel crisis" it was poi...d out by one of the U.W.I. ec... on the TV programme "Dialogue" that the in...sing of the national control of ... making was by far the most important of th...ree objectives of the Draft-T... Year Plan, and that the successful attainment ...the other two objectives depe... large extent on the attainment of the third. ...s view was strongly opposed ... our most prominent local businessmen upon ...m has often reposed the resp... of articulating the views of the business comm...y. From his point of view far ... importance was being attached to the questi...of foreign control of the econ... the facts indicated that such concern was e...ly misplaced. Now, however ... awareness in the business community makes ...time propitious for Governme... on this particular problem although it should ...be presumed that even at thi... business community will give undivided supp...to any such action. At any ... future of this issue promises to be very interest...

MOKO COMMITTEES MUST BE ESTABLISHED IN EVERY VILLAGE, IN EVERY TOWN

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Happily we have ordinary people with a growing awareness and sense enough to begin saying no to the second class status which the society ascribes to their kind. If we are going to build a Nation of any worth all must realise the dignity of man and equality of treatment they expect. Firms operating in this country must be told what is expected of them in this respect and the Government must act to protect the sentiments expressed in our constitution and anthem.

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It can perhaps be argued that since the Bay of Pigs the British, as the most experienced imperialists, have been yearning to show their North Atlantic 'kith and kin' exactly how such affairs are manned. Now they have ended up in the most ridiculous posture imaginable. The aptest caricature is that of a hoodlum about to finish off his victim. Looking up, sees a policeman eyeing him, whereupon he begins to pretend that he was about to lift the man off the ground not murder him. So it is today with the British. In the glare of unfavourable world publicity the British, having bulldogged their way in are now trying to pussyfoot their way out. After 300 years they have suddenly discovered that Anguilla lacks the basic amenities and are now said to be substituting soldiers for engineers in a bid to provide water, lights, roads and other basic requirements.

Gullible as some of us are, and titillated as we all might be by this hilarious episode, it is for us the people of the West Indies to bring this bribery aside with the same lack of ceremony that the Anguillans have so far displayed in dealing with the British. The most direct and relevant call that we can now make is for the complete end to colonialism in the region. This is a big problem and it is not to be solved, as we in Trinidad and Tobago know, simply by 'gaining independence'. That is a start, and we must begin by establishing the formal independence of the entire English-speaking Caribbean, perhaps even by simply declaring it.

The Anguillan crisis has done nothing if it has not underlined the essential colonial status of the smaller islands of the Caribbean. It has shown up the conception for the hollow mockery that it is. Clearly, if these states can all be treated in the way that Anguilla has been they are neither 'associated' with Britain nor are they really 'states'. By the terms of the constitution of associated statehood the islands have complete internal self-government. Britain had responsibility for external affairs and defence. But the invasion of Anguilla shows that as long as Britain has the right, as she has under the constitution, to interpret what defence and external affairs mean and where the boundary is to be drawn between internal and external matters, the associated states cannot be said to enjoy the smallest tittle of independence.

This is what Anguilla is about. It is about real as against fraudulent independence. Its true implications are highly symbolic. If the Anguillans can be independent is there anyone else in this region who cannot be? Not only that the Anguillans are claiming independence without all the frills, props and amenities which are supposed to go with it; and that is the greatest development this region has known for years. The British know this. They are not looking for gangsters. Gangsters themselves, they would have found any if there were any to be found. What they are doing in Anguilla is trying to halt the revolution in West Indian consciousness which the Anguillans symbolized by kicking a junior British Minister to hell out of Anguilla. That the British could not take, not because of the kick but because of the psychological maturity displayed in the act.

Of course, too, there are economic implications. The blow against Whitlock was a blow against the whole British enterprise in the Caribbean. That enterprise, in so far as the samller islands are concerned, centers on BAC's operations in the Caribbean and on the increasing British stake in the tourist industry of the smaller territories. These two together add up to a pretty sizeable economic interest not only in actual size but in potential. And the existence of both of these depends on the continued existence of associated statehood. We say away with it, and the time is now.

ON THE TRAIL OF JESSEL

The Jessel crisis has stimulated national interest far in excess of what may be regarded as warranted by the implications of Mr. Jessel's attempt to buy out Alstons Ltd. Further, the precipitate nature of the Government's decision and the ensuing Parliamentary action, taken without allowing any time for the full consideration of the technical issues involved, makes it clear that the justifications presented to the public were nothing short of spurious.

It is true that retrenchment and unemployment were involved, as the Government claimed, but this time it was unemployment and retrenchment at the top, among the upper echelons of the society, and this could not be tolerated. It is true, too, that Cabinet had long expressed its intention to intervene in the matter of retrenchment in the oil industry. Presumably this strategy could be extended to take in the business sector; and presumably too, national pride was at stake. But the facts give considerable support to the suspicion that the Government was motivated by anything but upright, long-run considerations.

The facts such as have been disclosed on this and previous occasions give considerable support to the above trend of thought. In the first place Mr. Jessel's acquisition of the Sandbach interests was unopposed and unmentioned until his moment of indiscretion in retrenching his local board. Secondly, we understand that the Booker Group has in recent years been in the process of acquiring a substantial number of properties in this country. Thirdly, only recently the take-over of the Grell interests ran into problems solely because of exchange-control regulations and no interest was displayed in preserving national ownership of that enterprise. Fourth, the Scotland Bay lease fiasco and any number of other projects indicate, if not lack of concern, at least a continuing indifference by the Government about the alienation of control over the national resources. Fifthly, though Government is abundantly aware that existing machinery for preventing such alienation is hopelessly inadequate and has been enshrined as a major objective in the Draft Five Year Plan the promotion of national control of decision-making, implying greater national control of local assets, no steps have been taken to initiate public discussion on how these goals may be achieved. Finally, and more specifically with reference to the Jessel Crisis, it would appear that the Government action was taken in direct response to an urgent appeal by certain affected persons who visited the Prime Minister immediately prior to the emergency action.

One possible enduring and desirable effect of the advent of Mr. Jessel on the Trinidad and Tobago scene is the dispelling of the complacency of the business community about the role of foreign investment in the development of the economy. Less than a fortnight before the "Jessel crisis" it was pointed out by one of the U.W.I. economists on the TV programme "Dialogue" that the increasing of the national control of decision-making was by far the most important of the three objectives of the Draft-Third Five Year Plan, and that the successful attainment of the other two objectives depended to a large extent on the attainment of the third. This view was strongly opposed by one of our most prominent local businessmen upon whom has often reposed the responsibility of articulating the views of the business community. From his point of view far too much importance was being attached to the question of foreign control of the economy, and the facts indicated that such concern was entirely misplaced. Now, however, the new awareness in the business community makes the time propitious for Government action on this particular problem although it should be presumed that even at this time the business community will give undivided support to any such action. At any rate the future of this issue promises to be very interest

GRENADA

In Grenada EXPO '69 is imminent. Here are some sober reflections on the tone of life in that island by our special correspondent.

Most if not all of the thinking and writing about West Indian Society so far has been oriented toward the larger territories: Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana, and, to some extent. Barbados.

Many people have been content to view the smaller islands as just so many condensations of the larger. The inference is that the problems of both are really identical; and that what the smaller territories really need is smaller doses of the medicines being administered to the larger.

Of course there is not a little truth in this widely - held impression: certainly a similarity of colonial experience calls for similiar approaches in several social and economic fields in the search for better living standards. But there are also dissimilarities in the nature of life which need to be borne in mind if we must really achieve a maturer vision of the general Caribbean malaise.

ADMIXTURE

Life or living is an admixture of of material and psycho - cultural properities. Largeness and its concomitants give the bigger territories some basis for the realisation of a genuine existence in these two respects.

There is a large population which provides for both labour and a variety of talents. There is a quantum of economic resources and development which though not too substantial, permits some form of "cultural superstructure" to function. The presence of the University campuses side by side with the emergence of a fledging extra-university campuses side by side with university intellectural class allow at least for the development of habits and institutions of critical reflection and commentary in the spheres of economics, politics, arts and so on. All this, in psychological terms, points to the evolution of a genuine individualism which, though it can be abused, is one of the surest signs of a lasting maturity.

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Not so in the smaller territories. The populations are small, desperately small. The economic base is too slender - completely dominated by agriculture and tourism. No two activities, in the West Indian context, could be less qualified for providing the basis of a healthy reconstruction. The ubiquity of politics goes along with the small size of population and the precariousness of economic life to explain the complete absence of an independent class of individuals who could provide some genuine analysis and intellectural direction for the society.

A Wasteland.

By A Correspondent

The cumulative effect of these factors is a profound psychological malaise which is all too manifest in Grenada in present times. The problem can be regarded as one of a lack or loss of identity - of dentification with some meaningful activity or collectivity. During the colonial period, Grenadians were not - called upon to forge an identity for themselves. They were authentic colonial subjects with the governor and his retinue ever present to provide the requisite assurances. Now, however, three factors have seemed to create a deep- seated crisis of identity. First there has been the speedy though not complete withdrawal of colonial rule and symbols; second, the traumatic collapse of the West Indian federation; and third, the achievement of independence by the bigger territories.

EMPTINESS

This last factor is relevant because Grenada has tended to think of itself as somewhat superior to the other Windward and Leeward islands and therefore as almost qualified for the big league. It is not at all accidental that the Premier, Mr. Gairy, is the first of the Associated States leaders to call for independence.

The emptiness of life, the lack of a unifying, purposeful identity in the island manifests itself in a number of ways, two of which we can note:-

One is the moral collapse and cruel anti- intellectualism of the presumably intelligent sections of the population.

Most of the best sons of the soil find themselves enveloped in an orgy of rum-drinking and general degeneracy which can certainly not be surpassed in any other part of the region. Among the best educated groups intellectual discussion, no matter how relevant and emperical is not merely taboo; it is actively, sometimes violently suppressed.

Wedded to this is the empty but often expensive posturing, in which the Government finds it necessary to indulge. Ask any Grendian what have been the most important achivements in the society in recent times. He will reply. We now have a zoo, a beautiful roundabout and most of all, we are looking forward to our great EXPO '69." It is difficult to over state how seriously this answer is meant to be taken.

NEW OR OLD

All this is reinforced by the style of the Premier who fortunately or unfortunately is intimately involved with all sections of the population. The Premier's dashing, playboy image which he inforously cultivates does little to encourage any serious thought or activity among his admirer not least among the younger and brighter civil servants and professionals. He is in fact the perfect embodiment of all the pompous emptiness which is at the core of society.

How then given all this, can we view the recent hints about independence for Grenada? Is it merely another empty gesture or can it be used to forge a dynamic sense of purpose which can give identity and substance to life in the society. Regrettably it appears, only time will tell.

THE FRENCH WEST INDIES TODAY

Cont'd from Page Two

France (though they speak mostly creole), as fearful of the uncertainties of autonomy.

In the past two years the autonomist argument has lost some of its force, especially in Martinique. There is growing attachment to what is called the 'third solution', after autonomy and continued departmentalization. This is a sort of modified status, granting more economic initiative to the island territories with gradual decentralization of decision-making, ending perhaps eventually with independence.

It is in this light that we can now look at the question of the forthcoming referendum, and what it is likely to achieve for these territories.

The proposals made thus far on regionalization and decentralization in the French West Indies seem to be somewhat along the lines of the third solution. However there are some major questions that need to be answered, of which the most important is the composition of the region.

VIABLE SOLUTION

Many feel that the only viable solution to the problem of regional economic autonomy will have to be at the level of the 'grande region' that is one comprising all three French West Indian territories. Martinique, Gaudeloupe & French Guiana a vast territory of 35,000 sq miles but of only 35,000 people. In fact, of the answers given by these territories to the preliminary questionnaire of the Paris Government on their attitude to regionalization, it is interesting to note that only Martinique showed an interest in the 'grande region'.

Guadeloupe and French Guyana for separate reasons preferred the 'department region'. French Guyana is jealous of the development begun with the Courou Space Centre, and the Guadeloupeans feel that regionalization will afford a further opportunity to Martinique to exercise its influence over it. The result of this is that the Secretary of State for the Overseas Departments has been quoted as saying that the whole question of regionalization has to be carefully considered as far as these territories are concerned.

REDISCOVERY

There is another question that will arise with regionalization. This may be termed the rediscovery of the Caribbean region. There has been, among some intellectuals, efforts to establish links with other territories of the Caribbean, without necessarily severing the traditional links with France. To what extent this trend will be stimulated or prevented by regionalization will be an important consideration that must be agitating the minds of the administrators.

The third problem in regionalization is the degree to which the reorganization of the economy and the establishment of new economic and commercial ties can be envisaged. As things are today, change will have little meaning without such a reorganization. But this change is hardly likely to be accepted by the interested parties, in the territories themselves and in France.

All these considerations indicate that the forthcoming referendum may be one of decisive interest for the French West Indies in the years to come.

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by "OTTO"

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The pawn can also capture but not when he directly faces another pawn or piece. He captures diagonally, sideways instead of straight. When he captures, like all the other pieces in chess he replaces the captured piece–unlike draughts where pieces capture by jumping over other pieces.

One further thing about the pawn we must know. There is an odd and old rule known as the *en passant* rule. It sounds confusing but it is actually very simple. Suppose that your pawn is on the fifth row or rank. Your opponent moves his pawn for the first time so that it goes to his fourth row and is on a level with and just next to yours. You may now take his pawn just as if it were on his third row and was in a position to be captured.

Now we present a diagram to show what we have been talking about.

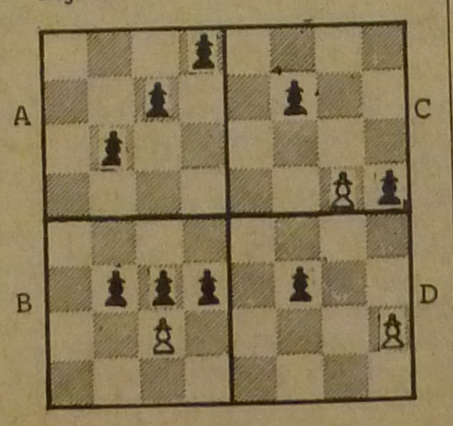
The Chessboard

The diagram below is, as you see, divided into four sections. Section A shows how the pawns move. The pawn on the left is at rest. The one in the middle has moved one place; the one on the right has moved two places.

Section B shows a pawn capturing. The white pawn can capture any of the black pawns on the diagonal, but not the pawn directly in front of it. Similarly both black pawns can capture the white pawn. When they capture they go to the place previously occupied by the captured piece. A pawn can capture any other piece except the king which is never captured.

Section C shows how the *en passant* rule works. The white pawn is on its fifth rank. The

Fig. 3



black pawn on your right has just moved to its fourth rank. They are now on a level. The white pawn captures the black pawn and moves to the position shown in Section D. This is the only occasion when a capturing does not go to the square previously occupied by the piece it has captured. But note; the pawn has still moved diagonally in order to capture.

MOKO

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No 11

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MOKO REORGANISES

It is now almost five months since the first issue of MOKO was published on Monday. October 28, 1968, and the time has come to reorganise both the paper itself and the organisation to publish and distribute it.

Our very first issue held out the hope of a fortnightly newspaper inevitably beginning in the shadow of the University, but eventually moving out of those surroundings to become a national enterprise. After ten issues we believe we have achieved a remarkable success and the time has come to move on.

Discussions have been taking place for months about what precisely this step should be, once it was decided to take it. After much debate it has been decided to form a private limited liability company with an authorised share capital of $100,000.00. Ultimately we aim at a public company. Membership of the company, limited to fifty persons by law, will consist of the subscribers to the Memorandum and Articles of Association and such other persons and institutions as the Board of Directors may think fit.

Specifically it is intended to reconcile mass participation in the enterprise with the corporate organisation of the Company. We hope in particular to involve institutions like trade unions, cooperatives, friendly societies, the Guild of Undergraduates of the University of the West Indies, and the West Indian Group of University Teachers.

Such organizations will be approached to purchase shares valued at $5.00 each. They will each be represented in the company by a trustee or nominee. Also newspaper organizatons consisting of readers, supporters, distributors, writers and general well-wishers will be formed. These too will be represented by single representatives so that, by these means the private limited liability company will have the greatest possible popular participation.

Further we have established an office and we are beginning now to plan for a weekly in the very near future. We are going to increase the size of the paper and to raise our circulation from the present 5,000 to something of the order of 20,000.

While we are doing this we shall also be discussing in the paper the philosophy and the objectives of the kind of paper we conceive. Views and comments are requested and we trust we shall have a lively debate.

In the next few months we shall be holding a convention at which all the people involved in the MOKO enterprise will be brought together. The purpose of that convention we shall also be discussing in our columns. After that, we move. For the moment we once again solicit your support and your involvement.

Well, the students' demonstration on Anguilla was as badly under-reported by the local Press, as the Michener affair was exaggerated. No one mentioned the impressive four-hour teach-in at Woodford Square in which every aspect of the affair was covered. We are told too that the British High Commissioner had to force his way through a thick crowd. In fact a passage was cleared for him and it was some time before he stepped down it, guarded by police, to shouts of "Mek he cross the Middle Passage" and chants of "Land of Hope & glory." Yes he tasted the spirit of mamaguy. . . and as he tremblingly took the students letter he must havebeen seeing only sweaty, bearded, cannibalistic black faces. . . All the old atavistic fears.

Meanwhile the Archbishop of Canterbury was saying prayers for peace in Anguilla. As if he doesn't know that God ain't concerned with black people. Or as the W.I. poet said, "If God is the father, black people are the outside children." Or as the W.I. cricket fan lamented in London as rain ruined a W.I. chance to win a test match. . "Oh Gad, you is a white man" Yes, the Archbishop was praying. ..

As strange as it may sound there are places in Trinidad where there are more water wardens than water. Such a place is Charlieville where water wardens were recently installed at the local Presbyterian school. Our information is though that Charlieville is one of the driest spots in Trinidad at the moment, people wait hopefully for hours in front of dried up or dripping stand pipes. Now they have wardens to help them wait. Talk about confusion!.

Soon Mr. Spencer, senator, trade union boss and one of the leading lights in the Congress for National Progress, will be leaving for his trip abroad to study racial discrimination. An easier assignment could hardly be imagined nor perhaps a more pleasant one. We hope he enjoys it. It's curious though that he should have insisted, as a condition of his going, that nothing should be done about the ISA in his absence. Fine, just fine. All the Government now has to do is to arrange for Mr. Spencer to remain away for a year instead a few of weeks. Bye, Bye, traveller. Take care not to end up as a labour attache in Mississippi.

Where was the Prime Minister at the time of the Michener affair? He was certainly at Piarco and was probably at St. Augustine when the students were dealing with Michener. Some eye witnesses said he was. Were there no eyewitnesses among the pressmen?

The mystery suggests that the Prime Minister, per hapsaloneamong that August concourse understood what was happening – which is more than can be said for Fiat Lux.

Ah, ha. The Tobago Golf Course is for all of us according to a recent Sunday supplement advertisement. At $400-$500 a year membership fee this should be well within the reach of every body in this earthly paradise where the percentage of persons unemployed is only between 15 and 20 percent, and where many persons actually in jobs earn just about that amount for a full year's labour.

Almost at once the University of the West Indies has witnessed the passing of two of its most important officials. Messrs Sherlock and Huggins have gone without much ceremony either. Is this the end of an era, or is it to be business as usual?

C.T.G.!!!!

The Anguillan crisis

From Page One

has to be asked before we can decide where we stand on the Anguillian crisis is this. Do the Anguillians have the right to determine their own future? There can be no ifs and buts in the answer to such a question. You either say yes or you say no. I say yes, the 6000 Anguillians have an undisputable right to self-determination.

What they do and how they do it is a matter for them to decide. We are not Anguillians and we are not in Anguilla. We cannot stay outside and determine what they should do.

The slaves of Haiti had a revolution, a violent revolution to achieve their independence. Wealthy America had both a revolution and civil war. When the Trinidad population showed that it was prepared to wage a bitter, if necessary, violent, struggle to drive the Americans out of Chaguaramas who could have told them that they were wrong and too hotheaded.

The right of a people to self-determination is an undisputable right and if they are prevented from practicing that right, they also have the right to revolt. On this basis, Anguillians are justified in seceding from St. Kitts and declaring independence. Whether we agree or disagree, they have that right.

Now what about the attitude and behaviour of the British and Caribbean Governments. The British have shown that they remain colonial gangsters. Their invasion of Anguilla is an act of colonial piracy and must be bitterly condemned. If the British are colonial gangsters, and colonial pirates, the Caribbean Governments too are political gangsters and political pirates.

After having agreed behind closed doors to British gangsterism and the use of armed power against the Anguillians, some of them now turn around and condemn the British. Not only are they political gangsters. Worse than that, they are political liars. Theyall must be unhesitatingly condmened. What is becoming clearer to us with every new crisis in the Caribbean is that Government and opposition, ALL HAVE TO GO.

What Anguilla has started in democratic politics we have to develop and practice.

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J.N.A.C. – A New Beginning

One of the most significant developments in Trinidad and Tobago recently has been the formation of the Joint National Action Committee comprising several Trade Unions, University students, Youth Groups and Sporting and Cultural organizations. The committee, which now embraces twenty one organizations, was formed in response to the February 11th incidents at Sir George Williams University in Canada. Those incidents were the result of a prolonged travesty of Justice and set the theme of racial discrimination against West Indians abroad as the initial basis of the Committee's operations. The relevance of this issue at the national level has also led to the Committee adopting a stand on racial discrimination at home which it is hoped would produce positive action for its elimination.

The Committee is important if for no other reason than the changing consciousness of the people which a merger of such diverse groups indicates, however limited the original common objective. The development of co-operation among peoples who have traditionally been cannibalistic in their attitudes to each other, a co-opration which transcends their particular preoccupations, is certainly one of the factors which is going to play a major role in the transformation of the political system. It is through such broadly-based, non-partisan, political organizations that popular participation in the government of the country shall become institutionalized.

People's reactions at the public meetings which the Committee has held so far show a recognition of the value of such an alliance in the Balck Man's struggle for equality, which is what the students' action at SGWU was all about. In addition to the several meetings held a fund raising concert was put on in Woodford Square on Saturday 22nd March to provide financial assistance for the distressed students in Canada. Four top steelbands, Carib Tokyo, Angostura Starlift, Solo Harmonites and Y. de Lima blue Diamonds participated.

Another concert, this time featuring more calypsonians, is scheduled for Woodford Square on Saturday, 29th March. Donations will again be sent directly to the 'Help the Students in Canada' Fund organized by the Guild of Undergraduates, St. Augustine. Several more meetings throughout Trinidad and Tobago are planned culminating in a massive demonstration in Port of Spain on April 12th, 1969, starting off from the Railway Building at 9.30 a.m.

All groups interested in participating in the Committee's activities are invited to contact the JNAC through the Chairman, Geddes Grangerc/o The Guild Office, U.W.I. St. Augustine. The public is invited to join in the demonstration on April 12th to show their solidarity with their fellows abroad.

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